2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapetí region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 • 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/105 cont./

799
361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

●128
127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing. I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be [126] sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a 527 554 562 Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This [128] photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 [281] The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

4c Nino--438 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/324 cont./

127
128 Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Potosí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

If the author of the Etnografía had had the necessary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necessary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

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Homage	1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/	
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia	1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/	
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Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián	7

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Stª Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Stª Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,¼(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XIII.

Toilet-Articles, Tattooing etc.

Ee 525 *171 174

The Chiriguano and the Chané are careful of their personal appearance. They are cleanly people, much cleaner than their neighbours. If these tribes had emigrated from the cold Bolivian mountains into their present territory, part of which is very poorly watered, they certainly would not bathe once, or even several times a day, as they do, but would be as dirty as the Quichua and the Aymara, who are, incredibly filthy. Their Chaco neighbours, too, the Mataco are also extremely dirty. In the parts I have explored it is only in Mojos that we find Indians as cleanly as the Chiriguano and Chané, these being the Mojo and the Baure, kindred tribes of the Chané. On the other hand the Guarani Indians in North Bolivia, the Guarayú, are less clean, even if they are among the «clean ones». The Guarani in Paraguay are, however, said to be very cleanly. The cleanliness of the Chiriguano and the Chané is a positive proof that they migrated to the territory now inhabited by them from warmer and well-watered parts, where bathing was pleasant and easily accessible. The Chiriguano and the Chané have not learnt to bathe from the Mestizos or the Whites, whose habits are anything but clean in these parts. Cleanliness is certainly not a virtue suddenly acquired by any people, but may indeed be regarded as a race-peculiarity. A map of S. American cleanliness would most certainly enlighten us on several points of interest with regard to the origin of the tribes. Now, when I read that the Mundrucú are very dirty I am sceptical of their being Guarani-Indians, and consider it much more likely that they are naturalized Guarani of a different origin. I shall not venture to give a map of S. American cleanliness

Ee [128]

Nordenskiöld E-S, 4(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Aymara SF5

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness*. I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with 0 and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

Nordenskiöld E-4,v(1908-1908, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF1

Resumé.

C
Ce
12
177

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Chorotí, Toba, Matacо and Tapiete.

C
Ce
128
177

I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a

Schweizerbild 8-9,1 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10 ●
Chané SP8

luxury or as a necessity. The tables thus reveal, for instance, whether these Indians have received chiefly articles of luxury from a certain source, whether what they received was mainly what women manufacture, and so forth.

Among the Chiriguano and Chané we naturally find a number of cultural elements with regard to whose origin we are quite ignorant. Without doubt many of these have a large distribution, but it is simply unknown. Others again have a distribution of such a nature that it yields us no conclusions regarding their origin. The Chiriguano and Chané have no cultural elements of any importance that are not known from one or several other Indian tribes. There are, of course, minor peculiarities in shape and ornamentation that characterize all the belongings of these Indians when compared with similar articles from other tribes, but I know of no striking invention of any description to the sole credit of these tribes.

A. *The influence of the Whites on the culture of Chiriguano and Chané*

The cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané certainly or presumably derived from the Whites, are given in the table 20. It includes such elements as they manufacture themselves, but are indebted to the Whites for the idea; cultivated plants and domestic animals which were not introduced among them until post-Columbian times.

If we examine the table 20 we shall find that it embraces 31 cultural elements. It omits a few cultivated plants obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the Whites which are not, and never were, of any importance whatever. likewise a few domestic animals that are rarely seen. It includes three cultivated plants and four kinds of domestic animals. Of the remaining cultural elements, 17 are man's or boy's work, and only four woman's work. The majority

[text continues on p. 200]

Nordenskiöld E-5,W(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrography, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

6:Nordenskiöld E-S,V(1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chaco SF8
South American Indians 53

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

S
C
Ce
113
114
128 ●
102

To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is CoopER's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archeological treatises are written, we can see, even though

Nordenskiöld E-S,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
1910 Chiriguano 1910
Chaco 1911
South American Indians 53

S
C
Ce
113
114
128
102

some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. FRIEDERICI and PATER SCHMIDT, great as their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Ee 197 171 648 Ce 101
Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowakes /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

Ee 128 171 778
/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Ce 197 554 273
Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

Ce 128 197 119
In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe", where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was

Ce C 192 197

1.	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñue	ÿ	ue
Maize	sapiro	abuki	sapuni
Fire	yucu	tata	yucu
Dog	tamico	yolimba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	changui	mico
Ear	tôvo	angiya	cono.

6. Nordenskiöld--SA E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8

Ee 514 Ee [171] Ee 296 Ee 128

/205 cont./

The Chané and Chiriguano never relieve themselves close to the hut. I never saw special privies, however, for any Indians, and not for many whites in Bolivia either.

The Chané and Chiriguano are very careful with their clothing. They keep it clean and mend it if necessary. The members of each sex wash and mend their own things. The men here sewe quite as well as the women.

I have spoken here of the everyday life of these Indians. Now I shall describe the most important events in their lives, in their social life, their festivals, their industry, etc., and

Cce 412 531

Fig. 110. Combs for combing the hair, not for fastening in it.

A, from the Chané; B, C, D, from the Chiriguano.

Ee 128

finally proceed to their legends and their religion.

St Schmidt--6 8-8 (1930) 1958 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/3 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapiì/. It was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. We doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decoration of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó. Taken from Historical Data

At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /it/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

1. Erland Nordenskiöld. The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies. 1. Göteborg, 1920. Cont. in the following Mod. 2.

R. Schmidt--25 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

/12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Macharetí and Toledo

I.C. 334. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Macharetí. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Macharetí. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Macharetí. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Macharetí. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 343. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 344. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 345. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 12.)